1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

317 323 [302] [824] This same clay supplies the red and yellow ocher used for facial painting. The clay is tempered with the bark of the Mecla tree called "Toiin" in Yaruro. This bark is burned to an ash and the ashes are kneaded into the clay, which has been well moistened. Rolls of this clay are then made, coiled, and placed one upon another. They are then flattened and smoothed out by hand or with the help of a piece of shell, water being applied liberally. The clay rests on a dish of pottery which is revolved when necessary. After the pot has been built up and smoothed down it is left in the sun to dry for two days. At the proper time a base of wood is made,

[531]

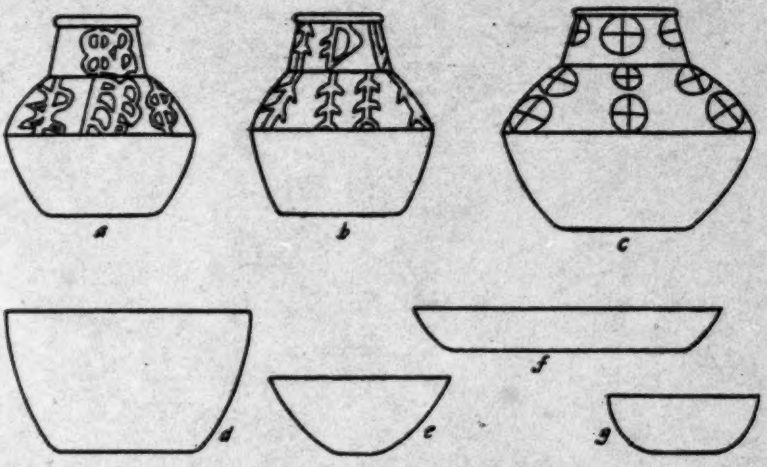


FIGURE 22.—Pottery forms and decorations. *a*, *b*, *c*, Water jars, showing painted designs. *d*, *e*, *g*, Bowls. *f*, Pottery plate used for toasting seeds.

the pottery placed on it and covered with other sticks, and then a hot fire bakes the pottery for about two hours. Such quick firing produces a poor quality of pottery, but leaves it porous. Since these pots are used only as water jars, this has the effect of keeping the water very cool (pl. 13, *2*; fig. 22).

CLOTHING

291 177 Most of the Yaruros whom I saw possessed some scrap of clothing which was worn both as protection against the weather and for social show. In many cases this clothing consisted of mere shreds, as can be seen in plate 15, *1*. The men wear coats and trousers or merely trousers. The women wear camisoles of the thinnest goods which in no way hides their nakedness. Most of this clothing is discarded when there are no visitors around camp, and

1 [see category 116, and plate 3 ----- Analyst]

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

successful if the men do not come back with a number of crocodiles, the men build larger fires, upon which the crocodiles are laid. As the hide cracks the animals are split open, the meat is stuck on spits and upon reaching a stage of being warm it is eaten. Contrary to popular ideas that crocodile eaters only consume the tail, the Yaruro eat the entire animal but stop short at the entrails, which are thrown to the dogs. However, they accuse the neighboring Guahibos of eating the entrails as a special delicacy. Turtle meat and eggs are often boiled.

Salt is known to these people but it is by no means considered an indispensable condiment in their food. In the only historical reference we have to the Yaruros they are referred to as clay eaters. Today, even though they are in occasional touch with civilized communities, the salty clay banks are still their only source of supply for salt. The food is generally eaten saltless, since they have no means of purchasing salt from the Racionales and they do not know how to make salt from the clay. As a result, they obtain the amount of salt necessary to life by chewing clay which they pick up in their wanderings over the plains. Food which I prepared with salt was always left untouched by them as being unsavory. In this respect, therefore, they act like the cattle and the deer which can be seen over the plains licking salt clay banks.

STORING OF FOOD

The only foods that can be kept for any length of time in the lowland tropics are the roots and seeds. In the rainy season even this is impossible. The Yaruros during the dry season leave caches of changuango on various sandbars. They dig pits into which they place the roots. The hole then is filled and soon the wind will leave no mark indicating that the sand has been disturbed. In some cases where the landmarks are plain, and the Yaruros expect to return in a day or two, no markers are placed anywhere. But if they expect to be delayed, or the sandbar is so large that they might forget the exact spot of the cache, they will thrust a stick into the ground at some distance away. Apparently by sighting with this stick and some other chosen point, they are able to locate the food store. However, on a number of occasions I saw the Yaruros march to a place on the sands with certitude and excavate changuango. In such cases I saw no markers.

In similar fashion they may store turtle eggs, provided they expect to return within a few hours. Baskets and other objects may also be left in the sand, to be retrieved when they are needed. Asabache, which is found in certain localities, may be gathered in quantities and stored until it is to be used.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 linked, kept up rhythmic motion by bending the knees slightly and leaning forward. The men bent at the waist until the torso was horizontal, arms hanging down like apes, and made the same motion by bending at the knees. The motion was so very apelike that I wondered if the monkeys didn't enter in some way into the scheme of things. I was told that formerly they were people and when the flood came they climbed to the tops of trees, and have continued to live there ever since, gradually changing shape. When the circuiting around the pole began the men followed one another after the shaman, and the women made the outer circuit with the right hand on the shoulder of the woman in front. The right foot was stamped on the off beat.

ART

184 517 Of the arts, dancing, music, carving, painting, modeling, and perhaps drama, are present among the Yaruros. Every individual in the group participates in some form of artistic expression, even in connection with objects whose function is practical rather than aesthetic; each individual attempts to make them "tsaimui", that is "pretty", "good." Great care is taken in making baskets, pottery, arrows, and bows. Singing and dancing are universally practiced also. No individual feels that his voice is too poor to participate in 531 the singing and no individual is shy about dancing. However, social 462 custom limits the activities of the men and women in the plastic arts. 323 Pottery making is the prerogative of the women. The carving of stamps and realistic figures from the asabache is done by the men. The low relief carvings on gourd rattles are the special products of the shamans. Of all these activities it is this last that comes closest to being inspired.

531 285 The making of baskets is woman's work. They take great pride in their workmanship, and make a conscious effort to reproduce various designs by employing several weaves. The patterns are rather limited, but then this may be due to the limited number of baskets which they make (fig. 21).

531 323 Pots are frequently broken in transport, but there is also very little use for them. One or two pots per family are all that is required. The porousness of the material is desired in order to keep the water cool. These pots are generally decorated with crude broad bands of red paint. The pottery decoration is reproduced in figure 22.

531 322 The women like to paint their faces. For this purpose the men make wooden stamps (pl. 22, *1*), which are dipped in red-ocher paste or a blue dye and the design is impressed upon the face. The designs are entirely geometric and rectilinear.

361 317 The asabache figures are of special interest because of their remarkable realism. The asabache is a black igneous material found

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

301 in small pieces on the banks of the Capanaparo. It is about as hard
317 to work as coal. It has much the same appearance. The carving tool is the ordinary knife which, in some cases, may be a broken
532 matchete. Yet, with such crude implements, they are able to pro-
301 duce exquisite realistic carvings of birds, fish, and other animals. These are generally perforated and strung into a necklace. Each woman possesses at least a few of these carved figures, the number depending on the industry of her husband. No symbolical significance seems to be attached to either the painting, the carving, or to any of the designs appearing on the stamps. There may be some magical meaning to them, but all inquiries were answered in the negative.

791 The gourd rattles present an entirely different manifestation. In
787 the first place, only the male shaman can use a rattle. It is, in fact,
532 the badge of shamanism. All the designs appearing on the rattle
534 represent what he sees during his visits to Kuma's land. These carvings are made with the point of any sharp instrument, which cuts in just deep enough to expose the lighter colored inner wood of the rattle.

To become a shaman one must dream of Kuma and the other gods, and show his people that he can communicate with the godheads when occasion demands. Perhaps looking at shamanistic practices objectively this may mean primarily that the would-be shaman has a fertile imagination and some artistic talent. I do not think that we ought to doubt that he believes that he actually sees and talks with Kuma, Itciai, and the rest of the spirit world.

791 He commemorates his dreams on the sacred rattle, carving out on
787 its surface the figures which appear in his dreams. Kuma and
532 Hatchawa dominate the decorations on the gourd rattles, and since
776 those collected came from the Puaná moiety, Puaná is also portrayed. In plate 24 various views of one of these gourd rattles are shown. The large geometric figure dominating the first drawing represents Kuma; the smaller one Hatchawa. Rotating the rattle toward the left we discover Puaná, the Snake.

534 In connection with these rattles one of the most interesting aesthetic
517 features is the filling in of space. All of the specimens collected and shown in figures 25, 26, and 27 demonstrate this. In watching Landaeta at work I asked him why he did so; his reply was that a properly decorated rattle must be "tsaimui", that is "good", "proper", "beautiful."

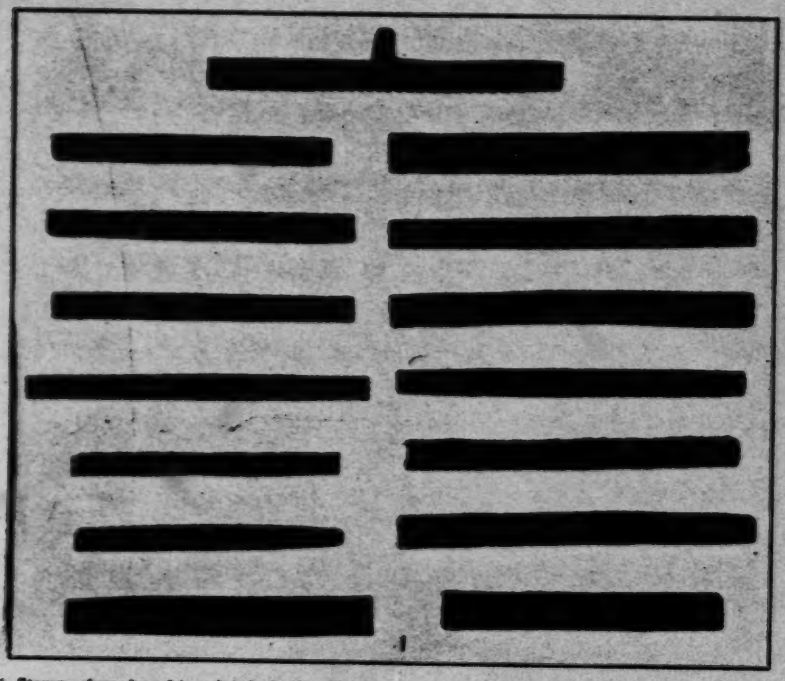
Music

534 One would suspect that the Yaruros would have borrowed some of
177 the musical instruments employed by the Llaneros. Among the lat-

1[see category 116, end p[ar]k 14 --- Analyst]
2[see category 116, pp. 242-243 --- Analyst]

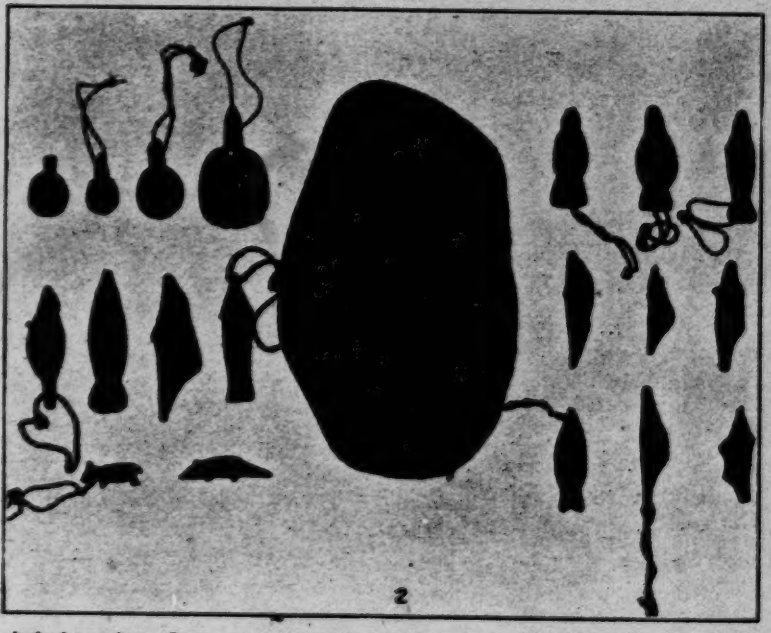
1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 S519 Yaruro S519

531
302



1. Stamps of wood used to paint the body. These stamps are made by the men, but used by the women. The designs are stamped on the face.

532
304
317



2. Asabache carvings. Center: piece of asabache as found in the rivers. Top row left: carvings of turtles. Top row right: carvings of birds. Middle row left and right: carvings of fishes. Lower row: carvings of (1) jaguar, (2) armadillo. Lower right: carvings of fishes.

[End Plate 12]